

Mr. Ball (250)
Jc. the R

October 21, 1952
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CUBA CASE

DOCUMENTS

NOTE:

1. All Documents are unclassified except No. 14.
NO 21 & 23 NOT RELEASED AT OUR REQUEST
2. See UN Publications for Security Council speeches.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, A/CDO/MR

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AMBASSADOR STEVENSON'S REQUEST FOR SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

DATED OCTOBER 22, 1962

Excellency:

I have the honor to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council to deal with the dangerous threat to the peace and security of the world caused by the secret establishment in Cuba by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of launching bases and the installation of long-range ballistic missiles capable of carrying thermonuclear warheads to most of North and South America.

The United States now has incontrovertible evidence that the USSR has been installing in Cuba a whole series of facilities for launching offensive nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons and installing the weapons themselves. These steps are far in excess of any conceivable defense requirements of Cuba. The Soviet action in establishing them signals an acceleration of the process by which the USSR has moved to snuff out the integrity and independence of the Cuban nation. The establishment of bases for nuclear missiles capable of raining thermonuclear destruction throughout most of the Western hemisphere constitutes a grave threat to the peace and security of this hemisphere and of the whole world.

The size of the Soviet undertaking in establishing missiles and other offensive weapons in Cuba makes clear that it was planned some months ago. Yet, throughout these months, the USSR has given repeated assurances, both in public and in private, that no offensive weapons were being delivered to Cuba.

On September 11, 1962, the Soviet Union said in an official statement that "The armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes . . . there is no need for the Soviet Union to shift its weapons for the repulsion of aggression, for a retaliatory blow, to any other country, for instance Cuba . . . the Soviet Union has so powerful rockets to carry these nuclear warheads that there is no need to search for sites for them beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union." Similarly, Foreign Minister Gromyko told the General Assembly on September 21 that any "sober minded man" knew that Cuba was not "building up her forces to such a degree that she can pose a threat to the United States, to the passage of the United States to the Panama Canal, or else a threat to any State of the Western Hemisphere . . . the aid rendered by the Soviet Union to Cuba to strengthen her independence does not pursue any of these goals either."

Upon satisfying itself as to the deliberately provocative steps which have in fact been taken, the United States Government has commenced a series of measures designed to halt this offensive build-up.

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The United States has called for a meeting of the Organ of Consultation to invoke Articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty.

In order to give effect to the determination of the countries of the Western Hemisphere, which they have recently reaffirmed, to safeguard and defend the peace and security of the region against external interference and aggression, the United States is initiating a strict quarantine of Cuba to interdict the carriage of offensive weapons to that country.

In accordance with its obligations under the United Nations Charter, the United States now brings before the Security Council the fact of nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons in Cuba, and proposes the prompt and effective discharge of the Council's responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

What is at stake is the peace and security both of a single region and of the whole world. The developments of modern science and technology have created capacities for catastrophic destruction. The diffusion of these capacities through the Soviet actions in Cuba can only be regarded as the gravest kind of threat to the peace.

It should be the purpose of Security Council action to bring about the immediate dismantling and withdrawal of the Soviet missiles and other offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of United Nations observers, to make it possible to lift the quarantine which is being put into effect. As part of this process, we are willing to confer with the Soviet Union on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world.

With these objectives in mind, the United States requests an urgent meeting of the Security Council. Attached is a draft resolution which the United States hereby presents to the Security Council.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Adlai E. Stevenson

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DRAFT RESOLUTION: UNITED STATES

The Security Council.

Having considered the serious threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world caused by the continuance and acceleration of foreign intervention in the Caribbean,

Noting with concern that nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons have been secretly introduced into Cuba,

Noting also that as a consequence a quarantine is being imposed around the country,

Gravely concerned that further continuance of the Cuban situation may lead to direct conflict,

1. Calls as a provisional measure under Article 40 for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other offensive weapons;
2. Authorizes and requests the Acting Secretary General to despatch to Cuba a United Nations observer corps to assure and report on compliance with this resolution;
3. Calls for termination of the measures of quarantine directed against military shipments to Cuba upon United Nations certification of compliance with Paragraph 1;
4. Urgently recommends that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics confer promptly on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world, and report thereon to the Security Council.

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OPERATIVE PORTION OF COAS CONSULTATIVE ORGAN RESOLUTION OF
OCTOBER 23, 1962

RESOLVES:

1. To call for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other weapons with any offensive capability;
2. To recommend that the member States, in accordance with articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, take all measures, individually and collectively including the use of armed force, which they may deem necessary to ensure that the Government of Cuba cannot continue to receive from the Sino-Soviet Powers military material and related supplies which may threaten the peace and security of the Continent and to prevent the missiles in Cuba with offensive capability from ever becoming an active threat to the peace and security of the Continent;
3. To inform the Security Council of the United Nations of this resolution in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations, and to express the hope that the Security Council will, in accordance with the resolution introduced by the United States, dispatch United Nations observers to Cuba at the earliest moment;
4. To continue to serve provisionally as organ of consultation and to request the member States to keep the organ of consultation duly informed of measures taken by them in accordance with paragraph 2 of this resolution.

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TEXT OF PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT

A Proclamation

Whereas the peace of the world and the security of the United States and of all American states are endangered by reason of the establishment by the Sino-Soviet powers of an offensive military capability in Cuba, including bases for ballistic missiles with a potential range covering most of North and South America;

Whereas by a joint resolution passed by the Congress of the United States and approved on October 3, 1962, it was declared that the United States is determined to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere, and to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States; and

Whereas the Organ of Consultation of the American republics meeting in Washington on October 23, 1962, recommended that the member states, in accordance with Articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, take all measures, individually and collectively, including the use of armed force, which they may deem necessary to insure that the Government of Cuba cannot continue to receive from the Sino-Soviet powers military material and related supplies which may threaten the peace and security of the continent and to prevent the missiles in Cuba with offensive capability from ever becoming an active threat to the peace and security of the continent:

Now, therefore, I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred upon me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, in accordance with the aforementioned resolutions of the United States Congress and of the Organ of Consultation of the American Republics, and to defend the security of the United States, do hereby proclaim that the forces under my command are ordered, beginning at 2:00 p.m. Greenwich time October 24, 1962, to interdict, subject to the instructions herein contained, the delivery of offensive weapons and associated material to Cuba.

Prohibited Material Named

For the purposes of this proclamation, the following are declared to be prohibited material:

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Surface-to-surface missiles; bomber aircraft; bombs; air-to-surface rockets and guided missiles; warheads for any of the above weapons; mechanical or electronic equipment to support or operate the above items; and any classes of material hereafter designated by the Secretary of Defense for the purpose of effectuating this proclamation.

To enforce this order, the Secretary of Defense shall take appropriate measures to prevent the delivery of prohibited material to Cuba employing the land, sea and air forces of the United States in cooperation with any forces that may be made available by other American states.

The Secretary of Defense may make such regulations and issue such directives as he deems necessary to ensure the effectiveness of this order, including the designation within a reasonable distance of Cuba, of prohibited or restricted zones and of prescribed routes.

Any vessel or craft which may be proceeding toward Cuba may be intercepted and may be directed to identify itself, its cargo, equipment and stores and its ports of call, to stop to lie to, to submit to visit and search, or to proceed as directed. Any vessel or craft which fails or refuses to respond to or comply with directions shall be subjected to being taken into custody. Any vessel or craft which is believed to be en route to Cuba and may be carrying prohibited material or may itself constitute such material shall, wherever possible, be directed to proceed to another destination of its own choice and shall be taken into custody if it fails or refuses to obey such directions. All vessels or craft taken into custody shall be sent into a port of the United States for appropriate disposition.

In carrying out this order, force shall not be used except in case of failure or refusal to comply with directions, or with regulations or directives of the Secretary of Defense issued hereunder, after reasonable efforts have been made to communicate them to the vessel or craft or in case of self-defense. In any case, force shall be used only to the extent necessary.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done in the city of Washington this 23rd day of October in the year of Our Lord, 1962, and of the independence of the United States of America the 187th.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

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U THANT'S SPEECH IN SECURITY COUNCIL

OCTOBER 24, 1964

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: Today the United Nations faces a moment of grave responsibility. What is at stake is not just the interests of the parties directly involved, nor just the interests of all Member States, but the very fate of mankind. If today the United Nations should prove itself ineffective, it may have proved itself so for all time.

In the circumstances, not only as Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations but as a human being, I would be failing in my duty if I did not express my profound hope and conviction that moderation, self-restraint and good sense will prevail over all other considerations.

In this situation where the very existence of mankind is in the balance, I derive some consolation from the fact that there is some common ground in the draft resolutions introduced in the Council. Irrespective of the fate of those draft resolutions, that common ground remains. It calls for urgent negotiations between the parties directly involved, though, as I said earlier, the rest of the world is also an interested party. In this context, I cannot help expressing the view that some of the measures proposed or already taken, which the Council is called upon to approve, are very unusual and, I might say, even extraordinary except in wartime.

At the request of the permanent representatives of a large number of Member Governments who have discussed the matter amongst themselves and with me, I have sent, through the permanent representatives of the two Governments, the following identically worded message to the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR:

"I have been asked by the permanent representatives of a large number of Member Governments of the United Nations to address an urgent appeal to you in the present critical situation. These representatives feel that in the interest of international peace and security, all concerned should refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation and bring with it the risk of war.

"In their view it is important that time should be given to enable the parties concerned to get together with a view to resolving the present crisis peacefully and normalizing the situation in the Caribbean. This involves on the one hand the voluntary suspension of all arms shipments to Cuba, and also the voluntary suspension of the quarantine measures involving the searching of ships bound for Cuba. I believe that such voluntary suspension for a period of two to three weeks will greatly ease the situation and give time to the parties concerned to meet and discuss with a view to finding a peaceful solution of the problem. In this context, I shall gladly make myself available to all parties for whatever services I may be able to perform.

/I urgently

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"I urgently appeal to your Excellency to give immediate consideration to this message. I have sent an identical message to the President of the United States of America."

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR."

I should like also to take this occasion to address an urgent appeal to the President and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. Yesterday Ambassador Garcia-Inchaustegui of Cuba recalled the words of his President, words which were uttered from the rostrum of the General Assembly just over two weeks ago, and I quote:

"Were the United States able to give us proof, by word and deed, that it would not carry out aggression against our country, then, we declare solemnly before you here and now, our weapons would be unnecessary and our army redundant." (A/PV.1145, p. 32-35)

Here again I feel that on the basis of discussion some common ground may be found through which a way may be traced out of the present impasse. I believe it would also contribute greatly to the same end if the construction and development of major military facilities and installations in Cuba could be suspended during the period of negotiations.

I now make a most solemn appeal to the parties concerned to enter into negotiations immediately, even this night, if possible, irrespective of any other procedures which may be available or which could be invoked.

I realize that if my appeal is heeded the first subject to be discussed will be the modalities, and that all parties concerned will have to agree to comply with those responsibilities which fall on them before any agreement as a whole can become effective. I hope, however, that the need for such discussion will not deter the parties concerned from undertaking these discussions. In my view it would be short-sighted for the parties concerned to seek assurances on the end result before the negotiations had even begun.

I have stated in my message to both the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR that I shall gladly make myself available to all parties for whatever services I may be able to perform. I repeat that pledge now.

During the seventeen years that have passed since the end of the Second World War, there has never been a more dangerous or closer confrontation of the major Powers. At a time when the danger to world peace was less immediate, or so it appears by comparison, my distinguished predecessor said:

"The principles of the Charter are, by far, greater than the Organization in which they are embodied, and the aims which they are to safeguard are holier than the policies of any single nation or people."

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/s/

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He went on to say,

"...the discretion and impartiality ... imposed on the Secretary-General by the character of his immediate task may not degenerate into a policy of expediency ... A Secretary-General cannot serve on any other assumption than that -- within the necessary limits of human frailty and honest differences of opinion -- all Member nations honour their pledge to observe all Articles of the Charter." (S/PV.751, pp. 1, 2)

It is after considerable deliberation that I have decided to send the two messages to which I have referred earlier, and likewise I have decided to make this brief intervention tonight before the Security Council including the appeal to the President and Prime Minister of Cuba.

I hope that at this moment, not only in the Council Chamber but in the world outside, good sense and understanding will be placed above the anger of the moment or the pride of nations. The path of negotiation and compromise is the only course by which the peace of the world can be secured at this critical moment.

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LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KENNEDY
TO SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT

October 25, 1962

Excellency:

I have the honor to transmit a reply from the President of the United States to your message to him of October 24, 1962:

"I deeply appreciate the spirit which prompted your message of yesterday.

"As we made clear in the Security Council, the existing threat was created by the secret introduction of offensive weapons into Cuba, and the answer lies in the removal of such weapons.

"In your message and your statement to the Security Council last night, you have made certain suggestions and have invited preliminary talks to determine whether satisfactory arrangements can be assured.

"Ambassador Stevenson is ready to discuss promptly these arrangements with you.

"I can assure you of our desire to reach a satisfactory and peaceful solution of this matter."

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

S/ Adlai Stevenson

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LETTER FROM PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV
TO SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT
October 25, 1962

(Unofficial version)

I have received your appeal and carefully studied the proposal it contains. I welcome your initiative. I understand your anxiety over the situation obtaining in the Caribbean, since the Soviet government also regards this situation as highly dangerous and calling for immediate intervention by the United Nations.

I declare that I agree with your proposal, which accords with the interests of peace.

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LETTER FROM SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT
TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY - OCTOBER 26, 1962

(Unofficial version)

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I would be grateful if you would be so kind as to transmit the enclosed message to the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy.

Message to President Kennedy:

I have today sent a further message to Chairman Khrushchev expressing my grave concern that Soviet ships already on their way to Cuba might challenge the quarantine imposed by your Government and produce a confrontation at sea between Soviet ships and United States vessels which would lead to an aggravation of the situation. I have also stated that what concerns me most is the fact that such confrontation and consequent aggravation of the situation would destroy any possibility of the discussions that I have suggested as a prelude to negotiations on a peaceful settlement. I have accordingly expressed to him by earnest hope that Soviet ships already on their way to Cuba might be instructed to stay away from the interception area for a limited time only, in order to permit discussions of the modalities of a possible agreement which could settle the problem peacefully in line with the Charter of the United Nations.

In continuation of my message of yesterday and my speech before the Security Council, I would now like to appeal to your Excellency that instructions may be issued to United States vessels in the Caribbean to do everything possible to avoid direct confrontation with Soviet ships in the next few days in order to minimize the risk of any untoward incident. If I could be informed of the action taken by your Government on the basis of this appeal, I could inform Chairman Khrushchev that I have assurances from your side of your cooperation in avoiding all risk of an untoward incident. I would express the further hope that such cooperation could be the prelude to a quick agreement in principle on the basis of which the quarantine measures themselves could be called off as soon as possible.

/s/ U Thant
Acting Secretary General

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LETTER FROM SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT
TO PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV - OCTOBER 25, 1962

No. 9

(Unofficial Version)

In continuation of my message of yesterday and my statement before the Security Council, I would like to bring to your Excellency's attention my grave concern that Soviet ships already on their way to Cuba might challenge the quarantine imposed by the United States and produce a confrontation at sea between Soviet ships and United States vessels, which could lead to an aggravation of the situation. What concerns me most is that such a confrontation and consequent aggravation of the situation would destroy any possibility of the discussions I have suggested as a prelude to negotiations on a peaceful settlement. In the circumstances I earnestly hope that your Excellency may find it possible to instruct the Soviet ships already on their way to Cuba to stay away from the interception area for a limited time only, in order to permit discussions of the modalities of a possible agreement which could settle the problem peacefully in line with the Charter of the United Nations.

I am confident that, if such instructions could be issued by your Excellency, the United States authorities will take action to ensure that a direct confrontation between their ships and Soviet ships is avoided during the same period in order to minimize the risk of any untoward incident taking place.

If I could be informed of the action taken by your Government on the basis of this appeal it could inform President Kennedy that I have assurances from your side of your cooperation in avoiding all risk of an untoward incident.

I am at the same time addressing the enclosed appeal to President Kennedy.

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LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KENNEDY
TO SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT
IN REPLY TO HIS LETTER OF OCTOBER 26, 1962

No. 10

I have your further message of today and I continue to understand and welcome your efforts for a satisfactory solution. I appreciate and share your concern that great caution be exercised pending the inauguration of discussions.

If the Soviet Government accepts and abides by your request "that Soviet ships already on their way to Cuba....stay away from the interception area" for the limited time required for preliminary discussion, you may be assured that this Government will accept and abide by your request that our vessels in the Caribbean "do everything possible to avoid direct confrontation with Soviet ships in the next few days in order to minimize the risk of any untoward incident." I must inform you, however, that this is a matter of great urgency in view of the fact that certain Soviet ships are still proceeding toward Cuba and the interception area.

I share your hope that Chairman Khrushchev will also heed your appeal and that we can then proceed urgently to meet the requirements that these offensive military systems in Cuba be withdrawn, in order to end their threat to peace. I must point out to you that present work on these systems is still continuing.

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LETTER FROM PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV
TO SECRETARY GENERAL U-THANT
IN REPLY TO HIS LETTER OF
OCTOBER 26, 1962

(Unofficial Version)

Dear U Thant:

I have received and studied your telegram of 25 October. I understand your anxiety for the preservation of peace, and I appreciate highly your efforts to avert military conflict.

Indeed, if any conflict should arise on the approaches to Cuba -- and this may become unavoidable as a result of the piratical measures taken by the United States -- this would beyond question seriously complicate the endeavors to initiate contacts in order to put an end, on a basis of negotiation, to the critical situation that has now been thrust on the world by the aggressive actions of the United States.

We therefore accept your proposal, and have ordered the masters of Soviet vessels bound for Cuba but not yet within the area of the American warships' piratical activities to stay out of the interception area, as you recommend.

But we have given this order in the hope that the other side will understand that such a situation, in which we keep vessels immobilized on the high seas, must be a purely temporary one; the period cannot under any circumstances be of long duration.

I thank you for your efforts and wish you success in your noble task. Your efforts to ensure world peace will always meet with understanding and support on our part.

The Soviet Government has consistently striven, and is striving, to strengthen the United Nations -- that international organization which constitutes a forum for all countries of the world, regardless of their socio-political structure, in order that disputes arising may be settled not through war but through negotiations.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

/s/ N. Khrushchev

Dated: October 26, 1962

LETTER FROM ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL THAM
TO PRIME MINISTER FIDEL CASTRO
OCTOBER 26, 1962

No. 12

(Unofficial Version)

I hope that Ambassador Garcia Inchaustegui has conveyed to your Excellency the appeal that I addressed to you and to President Dorticos through him in the course of the statement I made before the Security Council on October 24. I then recalled the following words of President Dorticos, uttered from the rostrum of the General Assembly on October 8: "Were the United States able to give us proof, by word and deed, that it would not carry out aggression against our country, then we declare solemnly before you here and now, our weapons would be unnecessary and our army redundant."

I added that I believed it would also contribute greatly to finding a way out of the present impasse "if the construction and development of major military facilities and installations in Cuba could be suspended during the period of negotiations."

As Ambassador Garcia may have reported to you I have received fairly encouraging responses to my appeal for negotiations and a peaceful solution of the problem from the President of the United States and from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Your Excellency can make a significant contribution to the peace of the world at this present critical juncture by directing that the construction and development of major military facilities and installations in Cuba, and especially installations designed to launch medium range and intermediate range ballistic missiles, be suspended during the period of negotiations which are now underway.

It would encourage me greatly to have an affirmative reply to this appeal very urgently.

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FROM AMBASSADOR GARCIA-INCHAUSTEGUI TO
 ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL U. THANT
 OCTOBER 27, 1962

(Unofficial translation)

Excellency:

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I have the honor to transmit to you the following message:

"Your Excellency:

I have received your message dated October 26, and express my appreciation of your noble concern.

Cuba is prepared to discuss as fully as may be necessary, its differences with the United States and to do everything in its power, in cooperation with the United Nations, to resolve the present crisis. However, it flatly rejects the violation of the sovereignty of our country involved in the naval blockade, an act of force and war committed by the United States against Cuba. In addition, it flatly rejects the presumption of the United States to determine what actions we are entitled to take within our country, what kind of arms we consider appropriate for our defense, what relations we are to have with the USSR, and what international policy steps we are entitled to take, within the rules and laws governing relations between the peoples of the world and the principles governing the United Nations, in order to guarantee our own security and sovereignty.

Cuba is victimizing no one; it has violated no international law; on the contrary, it is the victim of the aggressive acts of the United States, such as the naval blockade, and its rights have been outraged.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba would be prepared to accept the compromises that you request as efforts in favor of peace, provided that at the same time, while negotiations are in progress, the United States Government desists from threats and aggressive actions against Cuba, including the naval blockade of our country.

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At the same time I express to you our willingness to consider attentively any new suggestion you may put forward; furthermore, should you consider it useful to the cause of peace, our government would be glad to receive you in our country, as Secretary General of the United Nations, with a view to direct discussions on the present crisis, prompted by our common purpose of freeing mankind from the dangers of war.

Unreserved respect for the sovereignty of Cuba is the essential prerequisite if Cuba is to contribute with the greatest sincerity and goodwill, grudging no step towards the solution of the present problem, and joining forces with all those peoples who are struggling to save peace at this dramatic moment in the life of mankind; Cuba can do whatever is asked of it, except undertake to be a victim and to renounce the rights which belong to every sovereign state.

I reiterate the assurances of my highest consideration.

Major Fidel Castro Ruz, Prime Minister
of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba"

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

/s/ Ambassador Garcia-Inchaustegui

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KHRUSHCHEV'S LETTER TO KENNEDY, OCTOBER 27

(Turkey letter)...

Esteemed Mr. President:

I have learned with great pleasure of your reply to Mr. Thant to the effect that steps will be taken to exclude contact between our ships and thus avoid irremediable fateful consequences.

This reasonable step on your part strengthens my belief that you are showing concern to safeguard peace and I note this with satisfaction.

I have already said that our people, our Government and I personally, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, are concerned solely that our countries should develop and occupy a worthy place among all peoples of the world in economic competition, in the development of culture and the arts, in raising the wellbeing of the people. This is the most noble and necessary field for competition and victors as well as vanquished will only gain from it because it means peace and increased commodities for the life and enjoyment of man.

In your statement you supported the opinion that the main aim was, not only to come to an agreement and to take measures to prevent contact between our ships, and therefore the deepening of the crisis which may as a result of such a contact strike the fire of a military conflict, after which all talks would be superfluous, because other forces and other laws would come into force, the laws of war.

I agree with you that this is only the first step. The main thing that must be done is to normalize and stabilize the state of peace among states, among peoples.

I understand your concern for the security of the U.S.A., Mr. President, because this is the first duty of a President. But we are worried about the same questions: and I bear the same obligations, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

You have been worried concerning the fact that we have helped Cuba with weapons, with the aim to strengthen its defensive capacity--yes, precisely its "defensive capacity", because no matter what weapons it possesses, Cuba cannot equal you: because these are different quantities, all the more so if one takes into consideration the modern means of extermination.

Our aim has been, and still is, to help Cuba. And no one can deny the humanness of our motives, which are to enable Cuba to live in peace and to develop in the way its people desires.

You want to make your country safe. This is understandable, but Cuba too wants the same thing. All countries want to make themselves safe.

/But

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But how are we, the Soviet Union, our Government, to assess your actions which are expressed in the fact that you have surrounded with military bases the Soviet Union; surrounded with military bases our allies; have disposed military bases literally round our country; have stationed your rocket armament there? This is no secret. American officials are demonstratively saying this.

Your rockets are situated in Britain, situated in Italy and are aimed against us. Your rockets are situated in Turkey. You are worried by Cuba. You say that it worries you because it is a distance of 90 miles by sea from the coast of America. But Turkey is next to us. Our sentries walk up and down and look at each other. Do you consider then, that you have the right to demand security for your own country and the removal of those weapons which you call offensive and do not acknowledge the same right for us?

You have placed destructive rocket weapons, which you call offensive, in Turkey literally at our elbow. How then does the admission of our equal military capacities tally with such unequal relations between our great states? This cannot be made to tally in any way.

It is well, Mr. President, that you have agreed to our representatives meeting and beginning talks, apparently under the mediation of the UN Acting Secretary-General U Thant. Hence he, to some degree, assumed the role of a mediator and we consider if he is able to cope with this responsible mission provided of course, that each side drawn into this conflict shows goodwill.

I think that it would be possible to end the conflict quickly and to normalize the situation, and then people would breathe more easily, considering that the responsible statesmen have good sense and an awareness of their responsibility, and have the ability to solve complex questions and not bring things to a catastrophe of war.

I therefore make this proposal: We agree to remove from Cuba those means which you regard as offensive means; we agree to carry this out and make a pledge in the U.N. Your representatives will make a declaration to the effect that the U.S.A., on its part, considering the uneasiness and anxiety of the Soviet State, will remove its similar means from Turkey.

Let us reach agreement as to the span of time needed for you and for us to bring this about. And after that persons entrusted by the U.N. Security Council may check on the spot the fulfilment of the pledges made.

Of course, the authorization of the governments of Cuba and of Turkey is necessary for the entry into those countries of these agents and for the inspection of the fulfilment of the pledge made by either side.

It would be better that these agents should have the trust of the Security Council, and your trust and mine, of the U.N. and the Soviet Union, as well as of Turkey and Cuba.

/I think

I think it will be not difficult to pick people who would enjoy the trust and respect of all parties concerned.

We, having taken upon ourselves a pledge to give satisfaction to the hopes of the peoples of Cuba and Turkey and strengthen their confidence in their security, will make a statement within the framework of the Security Council to the effect that the Soviet Government gives a solemn promise to respect the inviolability of the frontiers and the sovereignty of Turkey, not to interfere in its internal affairs, not to invade Turkey, not to make available its territory as a bridgehead for such an invasion, and will also restrain those who contemplate perpetrating aggression against Turkey both from the territory of the Soviet Union and from the territory of other neighboring states of Turkey.

The U.S. Government will make a similar statement within the framework of the Security Council in respect of Cuba. It will declare that the USA, motivated by the inviolability of Cuba's frontiers and sovereignty, undertakes not to interfere in its internal affairs, itself not to invade Cuba or make its territory available as a bridgehead for such an invasion, and will also restrain those who might contemplate perpetrating aggression against Cuba, both from the territory of the USA and from the territory of other neighboring states of Cuba.

Of course for this we would have to agree on some kind of time limit. Let us agree to some period of time, but not to delay- two or three weeks not more than a month.

The means situated in Cuba which you say and have stated are perturbing you, are in the hands of Soviet officers. Therefore any accidental use of them to the detriment of the U.S.A. is excluded.

These means are situated in Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government and only for defense purposes. Therefore if there is no invasion of Cuba, or attack on the Soviet Union or any other of our allies, then of course these means are not and will not be a threat to anyone. For they are not for the purpose of attack.

If you are agreeable, Mr. President, to my proposal, then we would send our representatives to New York, to the U.N., and would give them exhaustive instructions in order to come to an agreement quickly. If you also choose your men and give them the corresponding instructions, then this question can be solved quickly.

Why do I want this? Because the whole world is now perturbed and expects from us sensible action.

The greatest joy for all peoples would be the announcement of our agreement on the radical liquidation of the conflict that has arisen. I ascribe great

/importance

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importance to this agreement insofar as it could serve as a good beginning and would in particular make it easier to reach agreement on the banning of the tests of nuclear weapons.

The question of the tests could be solved in parallel without connecting one with the other because they are different issues.

However, it is important that agreement should be reached on both these issues so as to give the people a good gift, to please them also with the news that agreement has been reached on the discontinuance of nuclear tests and that consequently the atmosphere will no longer be polluted. And our and your positions on this issue are very close.

All this could possibly serve as a good impetus towards the quest for mutually acceptable agreements also on other controversial issues on which we are exchanging views. These issues have not so far been solved, but they are awaiting their urgent solution which would clear up the international atmosphere. We are ready for this.

These, then, are my proposals, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours,

Khrushchev.

27th October 1962

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WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT
ON KRUSHCHEV'S LETTER OF OCT. 27

No. 118

"Several inconsistent and conflicting proposals have been made by the USSR within the last twenty-four hours, including the one just made public in Moscow. The proposal broadcast this morning involves the security of nations outside the Western Hemisphere. But it is the Western Hemisphere countries and they alone that are subject to the threat that has produced the current crisis -- the action of the Soviet Government in secretly introducing offensive weapons into Cuba. Work on these offensive weapons is still proceeding at a rapid pace. The first imperative must be to deal with this immediate threat, under which no sensible negotiation can proceed.

"It is therefore the position of the United States that as an urgent preliminary to consideration of any proposals work on the Cuban bases must stop; offensive weapons must be rendered inoperable; and further shipment of offensive weapons to Cuba must cease -- all under effective international verification.

"As to proposals concerning the security of nations outside this Hemisphere, the United States and its allies have long taken the lead in seeking properly inspected arms limitation, on both sides. These efforts can continue as soon as the present Soviet-created threat is ended."

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KENNEDY'S LETTER RESPONDING

TO MRUSHECHEV

OCTOBER 27

October 27, 1962

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have read your letter of October 26th with great care and welcomed the statement of your desire to seek a prompt solution to the problem. The first thing that needs to be done, however, is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable, under effective United Nations arrangements.

Assuming this is done promptly, I have given my representatives in New York instructions that will permit them to work out this weekend - in co-operation with the Acting Secretary General and your representative - an arrangement for a permanent solution to the Cuban problem along the lines suggested in your letter of October 26th. As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposals which seem generally acceptable as I understand them - are as follows:

1. You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.

2. We, on our part, would agree - upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments - (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba and I am confident that other nations of the Western hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise.

If you will give your representative similar instructions, there is no reason why we should not be able to complete these arrangements and announce them to the world within a couple of days: The effect of such a settlement of easing world tensions would enable us to work toward a more general arrangement regarding "other armaments", as proposed in your second letter which you made public. I would like to say again that the United States is very much interested in reducing tensions and halting the arms race; and if your letter signifies that you are prepared to discuss a detente affecting NATO and the Warsaw Pact, we are quite prepared to consider with our allies any useful proposals.

But the first ingredient, let me emphasize, is the cessation of work on missile sites in Cuba and measures to render such weapons inoperable, under

effective

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effective international guarantees. The continuation of this threat, or a prolonging of this discussion concerning Cuba by linking these problems to the broader questions of European and world security, would surely lead to an intensification of the Cuban crisis and a grave risk to the peace of the world. For this reason I hope we can quickly agree along the lines outlined in this letter and in your letter of October 26th.

(signed) John F. Kennedy

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Dear Mr. President:

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I received your message of October 27th. I expressed my satisfaction and thank you for the sense of proportion you have displayed, and the realization of the responsibility which now devolves on you for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I regard with great understanding your concern and the concern of the peoples of the United States of America in connection with the fact that the weapons you describe as offensive are formidable weapons, indeed.

Both you and we understand what kind of weapons these are.

In order to eliminate as rapidly as possible the conflict which endangers the cause of peace, to give assurance to all the peoples which crave peace, to reassure the people of America who, I am sure also want peace, as the peoples of the Soviet Union do, the Soviet Government, in addition to earlier instructions on the discontinuation of further work on weapons construction sites, has given a new order to dismantle the weapons, which you describe as "offensive," and to return them to the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, I should like to repeat what I had already written to you in my earlier messages, that the Soviet Government has given economic assistance to the Republic of Cuba, as well as arms, because Cuba, the Cuban people, were constantly under the continuous threat of invasion of Cuba.

A piratic vessel had shelled Havana. They say that this shelling was done by irresponsible Cuban emigrés. Perhaps so. But the question is from where did they shoot. It is a fact that these Cubans have no territory, they are fugitives from their country, they have no means to conduct military operations.

This means that someone had put into their hands these weapons for shelling Havana, for piracy in the Caribbean Sea, in the territorial waters of Cuba. It is impossible in our time not to notice a piratic ship, considering the concentration in the Caribbean Sea of American ships from which everything can be seen and observed,

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and in these

And in these conditions, pirate ships freely roam around Cuba, shell Cuba, make piratic attacks on peaceful cargo ships. It is known that they had even shelled a British cargo ship.

In a word, Cuba was under the continuous threat of aggressive forces which did not conceal their intention to invade her territory.

The Cuban people want to build their life in their own interests without external interference. This is their right and they cannot be blamed for wanting to be masters of their own country, to dispose of the fruits of their own labor.

The threat of invasion of Cuba and all other schemes for creating tension over Cuba are designed to strike the Cuban people with a sense of insecurity, to intimidate them, to prevent them from peacefully building their new life.

Mr. President, I should like to say clearly once more that we could not remain indifferent to that and the Soviet Government decided to render assistance to Cuba with the means of defense against aggression, only with means for the purposes of defense. We have supplied the defense means which you describe as offensive means. We have supplied them to prevent an attack on Cuba, to prevent rash acts.

I regard with respect and trust the statement you made in your message on October 27th, 1962, that there would be no attack, no invasion of Cuba, and not only on the part of the United States, but also on the part of other nations of the Western Hemisphere, as you have said in the same message of yours. Then the motives which induced us to render assistance of such a kind to Cuba disappear.

It is for this reason that we instructed our officers (these means as I had already informed you earlier are in the hands of the Soviet officers) to take appropriate measures to discontinue the construction of the aforementioned facilities, to dismantle them and to return them to the Soviet Union. As I had informed you in the letter of October 27, we are prepared to reach agreement to enable representatives of the United Nations to verify the dismantling of these means.

Thus, in view of the assurances you have given and our instructions on dismantling, there is every condition for eliminating the present conflict.

I note

I note with satisfaction that you have responded to the desire I expressed with regard to the elimination of the aforementioned dangerous situation as well as with regard to providing conditions for a more thoughtful appraisal of the international situation, fraught as it is with great dangers in our age of thermonuclear weapons, rocketry, space ships, global rockets and other deadly weapons. All people are interested in the insurance of peace.

Therefore, vested with trust and great responsibility, we must not allow the situation to aggravate and must stamp out the centers where a dangerous situation fraught with grave consequences to the cause of peace has arisen. And if we, together with you, and with the assistance of other people of good will, succeed in eliminating this tense atmosphere, we should also make sure that no other dangerous conflicts which could lead to a world nuclear catastrophe would arise.

In conclusion I should like to say something about détente between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries you have mentioned. We have spoken about that long since and are prepared to continue to exchange views on this question with you, and to find a reasonable solution.

We should like to continue the exchange of views on the prohibition of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, on general disarmament and on other problems relating to relaxation of international tension.

Mr. President, I trust your statement, but on the other hand there are irresponsible people who would like to invade Cuba now and thus touch off a war. If we do take practical steps and proclaim the dismantling and evacuation of the means from Cuba, in doing so, we, at the same time, want the Cuban people to be sure that we are with them and do not absolve ourselves of responsibility for rendering assistance to the Cuban people.

We are confident that the peoples of all countries like you, Mr. President, would understand me correctly. We do not threaten. We want nothing but peace. Our country is now on the upgrade.

Our people enjoy the fruits of their peaceful labor. They have achieved tremendous successes after the October Revolution, have created the greatest of material, spiritual and cultural values. Our people enjoy these values and want to continue developing their achievements, want to insure their further development on the way of peace and social progress by their persistent labor.

I should

-4-

I should like to remind you, Mr. President, that military planes of reconnaissance character had violated the borders of the Soviet Union in connection with which there had been conflicts between us, and notes were exchanged. In 1960 we shot down your U-2 plane, whose reconnaissance flight over the U.S.S.R. wrecked the summit meeting in Paris. At that time you took a correct position, having denounced that criminal act of the former United States Administration.

But already during your term of office as President there occurred another instance of violation of our border by an American U-2 plane in the area of Sakhalin. We had already written to you about that violation on August 30th. Then you replied that that violation occurred as a result of poor weather and gave assurances that this would not be repeated. We trusted your assurance, because indeed the weather was poor in that area at that time.

However had not your plans been ordered to fly about our territory, even poor weather could not have brought an American plane into our airspace. Hence, the conclusion that this is being done with the knowledge of Pentagon, which tramples on international norms and violates the borders of other states.

A still more dangerous case occurred on October 28th when your reconnaissance plane intruded the borders of the Soviet Union in the area of the Chukotka (Chukchi) Peninsula in the north and flew over our territory. The question is, Mr. President, how should we regard this.

What is this -- a provocation? Your plane violates our frontier, at such an anxious time we and you are experiencing, when everything has been put into combat readiness. Is it not a fact that an intruding American plane can be easily taken for a nuclear bomber and this might push us to a fateful step, all the more that the United States Government and Pentagon long since declare that you maintain a continuous nuclear bomber patrol.

Therefore, you can imagine what responsibility you are assuming especially now, at such an anxious time we are living through.

I should ask you to correctly appraise this and to take appropriate measures to prevent this from becoming a provocation for touching off a war.

I should also

I should also like to express the following wish. Of course, it is business of the Cuban people. You do not have diplomatic relations. But through my officials who are on Cuba I have reports that American planes make flights over Cuba.

We are interested that there should be no war in the world and that the Cuban people should live in peace. But besides, Mr. President, it is no secret that we have our people on Cuba.

Under a treaty with the Cuban Government we have there officers, instructors who teach Cubans, mostly plain people; specialists, agronomists, zoo-technicians, irrigators, land reclamation specialists, plain tractor drivers and workers. We are concerned about them.

I should like you to consider, Mr. President, that violation of the airspace of Cuba by American planes could also lead to dangerous consequences. And if you do not want this to happen, it would be better if no cause is given for a dangerous situation to arise.

We must be careful now and refrain from such steps which would not be useful to the defense of states involved in the conflict, but could only cause irritation and even serve as a provocation for a fateful step. Therefore, we must display sanity, reason and refrain from such steps.

We value peace perhaps even more than other peoples because we had gone through a terrible war with Hitler. But our people will not falter in the face of any test. Our people trust their Government and we assure our people and world public opinion that the Soviet Government will not allow itself to be provoked.

But if the provocateurs unleash a war they will not evade responsibility and the grave consequences the war would bring upon them. But we are confident that reason would triumph, war would not be unleashed and peace and security of the peoples will be insured.

In connection with the current negotiations between Acting Secretary General Mr. U Thant and representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba, the Soviet Government has sent to New York the First Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. V. V. Kuznetsov, to help Mr. U Thant in his noble efforts aimed at eliminating the present dangerous situation.

Respectfully yours,

N. Khrushchev.

KENNEDY'S LETTER TO KHRUSHCHEV
OCTOBER 28, 1962

SECRET

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am replying at once to your broadcast message of Oct. 28, even though the official text has not yet reached me, because of the great importance I attach to moving forward promptly to the settlement of the Cuban crisis. I think that you and I, with our heavy responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, were aware that developments were approaching a point where events could have become immanageable. So I welcome this message and consider it an important contribution to peace.

The distinguished efforts of Acting Secretary General U Thant have greatly facilitated both our tasks. I consider my letter to you of Oct. 27 and your reply of today as firm undertakings on part of both our Governments which should be promptly carried out. I hope that the necessary measures can at once be taken through the United Nations, as your message says, so that the United States in turn will be able to remove the quarantine measures now in effect. I have already made arrangements to report all these matters to the Organization of American States, whose members share a deep interest in a genuine peace in the Caribbean area.

You referred in your letter to a violation to your frontier by an American aircraft in the area of the Chukotsk Peninsula. I have learned that this plane, without arms or photographic equipment, was engaged in an air sampling mission in connection with your nuclear tests. Its course was direct from Eielson Air Force base in Alaska to the North Pole and return. In turning south, the pilot made a serious navigational error which carried him over Soviet territory. He immediately made an emergency call on an open radio for navigational assistance and was guided back to his home base by the most direct route.

I regret this incident and will see to it that every precaution is taken to prevent reoccurrence.

Mr. Chairman, both our countries have unfinished tasks and I know that your people as well as the United States can ask for nothing better than to pursue them free from the fear of war. Modern science and technology have given us the possibility of making labor fruitful beyond anything that could have been dreamed of a few decades ago.

I agree

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I agree with you that we must devote urgent attention to the problem of disarmament, as it relates to the whole world and also to critical areas. Perhaps now, as we step back from danger, we can together make real progress in this vital field. I think we should give priority to questions relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, on earth and in outer space, and to the great effort for a nuclear test ban. But we should also work hard to see if wider measures of disarmament can be agreed to and put into operation at an early date.

The United States Government will be prepared to discuss these questions urgently, and in a constructive spirit, at Geneva or elsewhere.

John F. Kennedy.

The Statement

I welcome Chairman Khrushchev's statesmanlike decision to stop building bases in Cuba, dismantling offensive weapons and returning them to the Soviet Union under United Nations verification.

This is an important and constructive contribution to peace.

We shall be in touch with the Secretary General of the United Nations with respect to reciprocal measures to assure peace in the Caribbean area.

It is my earnest hope that the governments of the world can, with a solution of the Cuban crisis, turn their urgent attention to the compelling necessity for ending the arms race and reducing world tensions.

This applies to the military confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries as well as to other situations in other parts of the world where tensions lead to the wasteful diversion of resources to weapons of war.

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KHRUSHCHEV'S MESSAGE

TO U THANT, OCT. 28
Noted

Dear Mr. U Thant,

I am forwarding to you a copy of the message I sent today to the President of the United States, Mr. J. Kennedy, in order to enable you to familiarize yourself with our position, which we regard as exhaustive and which will help you to discharge your noble functions.

In connection with the negotiations you are conducting now with representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the Cuban Republic, the Soviet Government has sent to New York the First Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., V.V. Knusnetsov to help you in your efforts aimed at eliminating the present dangerous situation.

Respectfully yours,

N. Khrushchev.

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(NOT RELEASED)

003710

LETTER FROM SECRETARY GENERAL TO AMBASSADOR STEVENSON
OCTOBER 28, 1962

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I should be grateful if you could transmit the following message to President Kennedy:

"Yesterday I sent to Mr. Stevenson a copy of the reply dated 27 October sent to me by Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba. Today I enclose a copy of my reply to the Prime Minister of Cuba.

"Mr. Stevenson has also given me a copy of your letter dated October 27 addressed to Chairman Khrushchev. I am very happy to note your spirit of cooperation and your concern for peace. In particular, I note that in this letter you have stated as follows:

- "1. 'You would agree to remove these weapons system from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.
- "2. We, on our part, would agree - upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments- (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba and I am confident that other nations of the Western hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise."

"I would also like to be able to convey to Premier Fidel Castro the assurances contained in your letter to Chairman Khrushchev that upon the establishment of adequate arrangements to ensure the carrying out of the objectives mentioned as the first condition in your letter to Chairman Khrushchev as quoted above, the United States Government would remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect, and also give assurances against the invasion of Cuba, in which other Nations of the Western hemisphere would be prepared to join.

"I hope that my understanding of the lines on which a satisfactory solution of this problem could be reached is correct."

U Thant"

003710

LETTER FROM ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT TO
 AMBASSADOR MARIO GARCIA-INCHAUSTEGUI, CUBAN REPRESENTATIVE

OCTOBER 28, 1961

(Unofficial Version)

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I shall be grateful if you would convey the following message to Prime Minister Fidel Castro:

"Your Excellency:

I have received with much gratitude and deep appreciation your kind letter of 27 October. I am particularly pleased to note that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is prepared to accept the suggestion that I made as an effort in favor of peace, provided that, at the same time, while negotiations are in progress, the United States Government desist from threats and aggressive acts against Cuba including the naval blockade of your country.'

I am also glad to note your willingness to consider any new suggestion that may be put forward. I am deeply sensible to the honor that your Government has done in inviting me, Secretary General of the United Nations, to visit Cuba with a view to having direct discussions on the present crisis, prompted by our common concern to free mankind from the dangers of war.

I have much pleasure in accepting your invitation. I hope to be able to leave early next week. I hope to bring a few aides with me and to leave some of them behind to continue our common effort towards the peaceful solution of the problem.

I also note and appreciate your feeling that the unreserved respect for the sovereignty of Cuba is an essential prerequisite to any solution of the problem.

I would very much hope that it might be possible for me to discuss with you all important aspects of the problem. It would be my hope that as a result of these discussions, a solution would be reached by which the principle of respect for the sovereignty of Cuba would be assured,

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and it may also be possible for action to be taken which would reassure other countries which have felt themselves threatened by recent developments in Cuba."

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No. 23

(NOT RELEASED)

LETTER TO SECRETARY GENERAL FROM AMBASSADOR STEVENSON
OCTOBER 28, 1962

"Dear Mr. Secretary General:

"In reply to your letter of October 28 to President Kennedy, he has authorized me to confirm your understanding of the lines on which a satisfactory solution of the present Cuban situation could be reached.

"Accordingly, you are authorized to convey to the Cuban authorities the assurances contained in President Kennedy's letter of October 27 to Chairman Khrushchev.

"It is the President's hope that a solution will serve as a basis for the achievement of enduring peace in the Caribbean area.

"Sincerely yours,

Adlai E. Stevenson

His Excellency
U Thant,
Acting Secretary General
of the United Nations."

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Following the statement by John Kennedy in his letter sent to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, to the effect that the United States would agree, after the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations, to eliminate blockade measures in force and give guarantees against an invasion of Cuba, and with reference to the decision announced by Premier Khrushchev to withdraw from Cuban territory installations of strategic defense arms, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba declares:

The guarantees of which President Kennedy speaks against invasion of Cuba will not exist without the elimination also of the naval blockade which it imposed, and adoption, among others, of the following measures:

1. The end of the economic blockade and all measures of commercial and economic pressure exercised against our country by the United States in all parts of the world.
2. The end of all subversive activities, dropping and landing of arms and explosives by air and sea, organization of mercenary invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, all of which actions are organized in the territory of the United States and certain accomplice countries.
3. The end of pirate attacks carried out from bases in the United States and Puerto Rico.
4. The end of all violations of air and naval space by North American military aircraft and ships.
5. Withdrawal from the naval base at Guantanamo and the return of this Cuban territory occupied by the United States.

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